Carangas—
Chipaya

/126 cont./

Taxata, in contrast, although there are numerous Tuanta wives, the greatest number of households are made up of individuals from the same section but with different names. I was able to establish that in a few cases within the same section a husband and wife had the same name. Since on these two occasions it was a question of patronymics without equivalents in another sector, one may conclude that the spouses were somehow related to each other; I do not know how.

Filiation is rigorously paternal. The wife during her first year of marriage lives with her husband's parents. After one or two children are born the couple builds a hut for themselves beside that of the husband's parents. This rule is not absolute for there are huts belonging to households without children. I gathered some information on inheritance law that is unfortunately vague and of which the accuracy is suspect. In case of the husband's death, if the wife has no children her husband's property passes into the hands of her father (he becomes custodian of it?). If she has a child her husband's possessions are left to her, and in a case where the child is still small, "another family" takes care of the sheep, i.e. of the pre-eminent part of a Čipaya's fortune. One Čipaya man told me that, orphaned at an early age, he was raised by a woman of his "moiety." His father's flock passed into the hands of his brother, who gave him his share when he was old enough to go himself to herd his sheep.

Kinship terms.

Although the nomenclature of the kinship terms teaches us nothing /127/ about the former organization of the Čipaya, I am recording them in any case to relieve my conscience:

grandfather	masthil'a, čaukal'a
grandmother	má-thl'a
father	hep
mother	má
father's brother (oldest)	čax-hep
father's brother (second)	taipir-tata

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

the *Aymara*, the *Uru* distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Polo (1901) states that the *Uru* were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the *Uru* ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native hilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

The *Uru* worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient *Uru* dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huchhu or sisa quirkitha, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main *Uru* fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 14th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimule, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood near the entrance of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are clearly from the *Aymara*.

Most *Uru-Chipaya* folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

The *Chipaya* of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the *Uru* of the Río Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the *Uru* are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the *Chipaya* are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Chipaya*, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the *Chipaya* do

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (maʎku) with little individuality (Chunkirini-maʎku, Kemperani-maʎku, Estewan-maʎku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-maʎku). The samiri are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-maʎku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the maʎkus and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

601 female baby, little girl = uč-tukun-wawa, kun wawa, tukun-wawa ku; young girl = paz-pak-uk; young woman = ux.

585 *Marriage.* Marriage nowadays is solemnized with the rites of the Bolivian Catholic Church, if at all. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married standing in the water of the Lake back to back. Marriage is
●591 patrilocal, if this term has any meaning for a group like the Uru. More male
163 than female children are born to the Uru, which is curiously the case with
563 other ichthyophagous groups as well. Uru men commonly take Aymára
598 women to wife, which accounts for the great acculturation in the direction
832 of this tribe nowadays. A kind of *Amphipod* (*Hialella pallida*), transparent, and two to ten millimeters long, found at the roots of *totora* plants, is considered to be an aphrodisiac when toasted, according to Posnansky.

621 *Political Organization.* If the Uru at any time in the past ever had a tribal chieftain of any kind, the institution has long since disappeared. At present the organization of the group politically is the same as the compromise between ancient Aymára and colonial Spanish officials which is in ef-
692 fect elsewhere in the *altiplano*. The village "mayor" (Aymará *kilacata*, commonly called *ilacata* by the whites—from the Spanish *alcalde*?) is called in Uru *čapsti* or *suxaturčičhi* ("wearer of the necklace," from his insignium of
692 office, a necklace). This official is "elected" yearly. The regional ranking
701 official or *corregidor* at Jesus de Machaca is called *čauk čapsti* ("big čapsti"). Squabbles with Aymára neighbors are led by the *kilacata*. Anciently, it is said, Uru women accompanied the men into battle.

195 *Dances and Ceremonies.* Bertonio[39] lists several ancient Uru dances of the
535 16th century which have since disappeared: the *ñuckhu* (*ñuñu*) or *sica quir-*
198 *kitha* (*kirkiña*), and the *chiy-chiy*, in which "chuspas" (bags) or "gualquepos" are held in the hand. The chief Uru "fiesta" of today is that of the
529 vernal equinox, which the Spanish missionaries moved from the 23rd to the
533 14th of September that the date might coincide with the Christian feast of
535 the Exaltation. On this date they play *sikus*, sing and dance the "mimule," and practice the ancient pagan rite of the *wilaula* (<*wila*, Aymará "blood"?). The *pusip'ia* and *qena* flutes are played at the dance of *Taurila* on the date of Espiritu; the costumes for this dance are a little white apron or "sabanilla," a "poyo" or plumed hat, the "panita" or "panasilla" (a collar of feathers), and the *kawa* or tunic, white for men and brown or black for women. The "mimule" and "taurila" are said to be like dances of the Chiriguano.

---

[39] Bertonio, *Vocabulario* 2, pp. 84 and 161. Other information, Posnansky *op. cit.*, p. 103.